

# GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
COLUMBIA, S. C. Nov. 24, 1840. }

*Fellow Citizens of the Senate,  
And of the House of Representatives :*

Since your last meeting, an event of a most melancholy character has occurred within our borders. South Carolina has been called upon to mourn the death of her Chief Magistrate, the virtuous and patriotic NOBLE, who was cut down in the vigor of his days, with the fair prospect of many more years of usefulness and honour. But while we regret his untimely death, as a people's loss, we can cherish with pride, the recollection of his unobtrusive virtues, his deep devotion to his State, and the many willing honours which he received from his fellow-citizens. Discharging his duties in the various public stations to which he was called, with uncompromising fidelity, it is no unmerited eulogium to declare, that few public men have enjoyed in so high a degree the esteem and confidence of the people, and left a reputation so dear to Carolina. By a provision of the Constitution of our State, at the period of his decease, the duties of Chief Magistrate devolved upon me; and in the further discharge of my duty, I address you on the present occasion.

We have abundant cause of thankfulness to the Almighty Disposer of Events, for the blessings which we have enjoyed during the past year. States, no less than individuals, should be ready to acknowledge the divine goodness; and, as the chosen representatives of the people, you will carry into your deliberations a sense of your dependence upon Him, and a spirit of sincere, unaffected, devotion to his will. Surely it cannot be said that I do violence to the liberties of conscience, when I call upon you to bow before that God whom we all profess to worship; to supplicate in earnestness and sincerity that Power by whose will alone nations stand, and at whose nod "desolation cometh as a whirlwind."

As a people, we have been peculiarly blessed. Amid the general pressure of the times, we have suffered but little, while thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens in other sections of the country, have been overwhelmed in poverty and ruin. Go from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, throughout our territory, and, with the most inconsiderable exceptions, every where you meet the evidences of comfort and plenty. The problem is now solved, that with proper effort, the poor can become rich, and the rich richer, within the limits of Carolina. The spirit of emigration to the fertile vallies of the west, which drove so many of our people from their native soil, has in a great measure subsided, and been succeeded by a patriotic devotion, which every succeeding year serves but to strengthen. The lessons of dear bought experience have not been without profit. The general ruin which has pervaded so many sections of the South Western and Western States, has tended greatly to satisfy our people with their present home, and make them look to industry and care, and not to the chances of speculation, for the means of improving their condition. It is matter of sincere pride, that our leading interest, Agriculture, is now attracting unusual attention. The



fact is made manifest, that our lands, by proper cultivation, will yield an abundant product; and it is gratifying to know, that many of the first minds of the State are now devoting their energies to the subject. Already the improvement in our system of cultivation, is marked and decided, and lands, which but a few years ago were regarded as valueless, are ranked among the first in the State. As an evidence of the increasing interest in Agriculture I point you to the recent organization of a Central Society at this town, devoted to the subject, composed of our most intelligent citizens in different sections, and the establishment of a journal under its auspices. It is no less a dictate of patriotism, than of interest, that we should be as little dependent upon others, as possible. In a strict sense, we can never be said to be independent, so long as we look to other regions for the very food which nurtures and sustains us. And though it is not to be expected or desired, that the time will arrive when the intercourse with our neighbours, from an exchange of products, will be arrested, yet it is manifestly true, that no consideration of policy requires that we should expend annually, hundreds of thousands of dollars, for articles which can be grown upon our own soil, at a cost far less than that which we now pay for them. For many years a too exclusive attention has been devoted to our great staple, Cotton. Blessed as we are with a great variety of soil, admirably adapted to the culture of many most valuable products, with the certain prospect of a success that will meet the wants of our own people, it is certainly in our power to lessen materially the heavy tribute which we pay to others. The indications of public sentiment abundantly prove that a wholesome spirit is now at work, and that a day of better things has dawned upon us. Many of our planters begin almost to doubt the sanity of that man who will make his cotton, and buy every thing else. Many dissent from the hitherto received maxim, in our agricultural philosophy, that the most successful planter, is he who sends the largest number of bales to his Factor. The modest and unpretending farmer, who makes every thing that he wants, and by a sure and regular surplus adds steadily to his property, has forced himself upon public attention, and contributed largely to dissipate general and mischievous error. Men are now more engaged in making calculations upon the only safe basis, clear profit. It is gratifying to know, that the occupation of a Planter, always respectable among us, has risen in public estimation to a dignity not second to the learned professions. The strongest desire now pervades our community, to develop to the utmost, the agricultural and other natural resources of our State. Impressed, as I know you are, with the importance of this fundamental interest, you will feel it your duty to come to its aid, by all the means in your power.

As connected with this subject, permit me to direct your attention to the importance of a Geological and Agricultural Survey of the State. This matter was brought to the notice of the last Legislature, by Governor NOBLE and the State Agricultural Society. I trust it will receive your most serious consideration, as no measure upon which you will be called to act, involves, in a higher degree, the general interest. South Carolina should not be backward in promoting the cause of science, by following the example of many States of our Union, as well as other parts of the world.

Apart from the immediate or more remote advantages which are likely to accrue to her from the accomplishment of this object, her reputation, as a liberal and enlightened Government, requires her to respond to the claim which the rest of the civilized world exerts upon her, to contribute her proportion to the mass of information already accumulated. From similar con-



siderations, States, poorer in resources, more limited in population, and whose citizens are engaged in employments less likely to be directly benefitted by the development of their physical resources, have liberally undertaken and accomplished such projects. But South Carolina is an agricultural State, and it is a lamentable fact, that from the want of correct information, and from the natural desire for the greatest immediate profit, without reference to future advantages, a large portion of her soil has been exhausted of its fertility, and thrown out of cultivation. A knowledge of the geological structure of our State, is the first and most essential instrument to arrest this devastation. By indicating the position of those calcareous and argillaceous deposites, which are known to be widely distributed throughout our borders; by teaching the modes of recognizing, distinguishing, and applying them, in the varying circumstances to which they are adapted, means will be presented of reclaiming thousands of acres of exhausted land, which are now a reproach to our knowledge and enterprize.

The exploration of Metallic Ores, is a matter of great importance. Two of these, Iron and Gold, have received some attention. The ores of iron are widely distributed throughout our State, and many of extreme value have been entirely neglected, in consequence of an ignorance of the deposits of those other mineral substances, often to be found in their immediate vicinity, which are essential to their profitable working. Gold has been worked out to an inconsiderable extent, and to small profit. The development of the localities of iron, and its proper fluxes, in the vicinity of the gold region, is very likely to give an impetus to the production of the latter metal, by causing the introduction of the Russian process of obtaining it, by smelting the ores in combination, and subsequently separating them, and thus giving a new and extensive direction for the profitable employment of capital and labor.

The great variety of our geological formation, from the oldest or primitive, to the most recent or tertiary, affords reasonable prospect of yielding, by minute scientific examination, other metallic or mineral treasures. Among these, may be enumerated Marble, and materials for building, Coal, or Peat, &c., which, apart from their immediate value, are well worthy of attention, from the new channels of enterprize which they will lay open.

The College is in a most prosperous condition, and is fully entitled to your fostering care and protection. The very generous and liberal spirit which the Legislature has always manifested towards it, is highly creditable to our people. It is with pride, I say, that the reasonable appeals of those to whom is entrusted its immediate control, have never been made in vain. No false notions of economy, have prevented those appropriations which were calculated to increase its usefulness, but they have always been made with promptitude and liberality.

Our Free School System has lately attracted special attention. I trust that, from the many Reports of the Commissioners to our late Governor, you will be able to derive important aid in the patriotic and benevolent effort to place it upon a more useful and correct foundation. Without presuming to give you even the outlines of a system, I would respectfully submit a few remarks on the subject. The pay of the Teachers is altogether too moderate. The very small compensation may be said, without much of a figure, to poison the whole system. If we value professions by their usefulness, none can be more important than that of the Teacher. His duties are most irksome and laborious, and no occupation in life calls for a rarer combination



of talent and character. The foundation of a complete education can be surely laid, only in our elementary schools. The importance of a thorough English education, is, to a great extent, overlooked in our modern systems, and our youth is hurried into the study of the ancient classics, without even a decent knowledge of their own tongue. It is a humiliating fact, that many, fresh from the walls of a College, cannot write a page, without betraying their ignorance of the structure of our language. This is no imputation upon the Professors, as young men are not sent there to learn the rudiments of English, but are presumed to know them before their admission. It is not my design to depreciate the dead languages, or a knowledge of their literature; but that education is imperfect, indeed, which looks too exclusively to such an attainment. A critical knowledge of our own language, with its literature, should be the primary object of attention, and, under no circumstances, should this be neglected. There can be no occasion for this neglect, as the thorough knowledge of one language only facilitates the acquisition of another. It is no easy matter now, to acquire a good English education in South Carolina. He who would offer to teach English alone, could not calculate upon making his bread. Our modern notions require something else; and hence, every head of a petty country school, advertises to give instruction in Latin, Greek, Italian, and French, and those higher English branches, which can be properly taught only in a College. To know what Homer and Horace wrote, and to be able to read the Grecian and Roman anthologies, is regarded of more importance than the knowledge of our own times and country. The Legislature can do something to reform this state of things, by elevating the character of our Free Schools, and requiring that applicants for admission into the College, should be examined in certain English departments, with which now they are only presumed to be familiar.

There is a more important relation, however, between the Teacher and Pupil, than the merely intellectual. It is the moral relation. How vastly important that the Teacher should possess the requisite moral qualifications; that he should be able to give that kind of instruction, which alone can qualify us for the higher duties of life, and prepare us for eternity. The education of the mind and heart must go together, or better, far better would it be for our children to continue in the depths of native ignorance. I would not convert our Free Schools into Theological Seminaries; but it becomes the Legislature to guard, in every proper manner, the morals of the children, and protect them against those sinister influences which make them any thing but good and useful citizens. In the words of a distinguished modern writer, "Education consists in learning what makes a man useful, respectable, and happy." It is all important to elevate the character of the Teachers of our Free Schools. The relation between Teacher and Pupil, is of a most responsible nature, and involves all that importance which belongs to authority, on the one side, and submission on the other. In addition to literary qualifications, no one, if possible, should control the education of the youth of the State, who is deficient in moral character. Who, I would ask, are the Teachers of our Free Schools? Are they men to whom the Legislature can commit, with confidence, the great business of education? What is the amount of their literary qualifications, and what the tone of their morality? It is not my design to indulge in unnecessary remarks upon this subject, but truth requires me to say that, as a class, they are grossly incompetent to discharge their high and sacred functions. So far as my observation extends, with but few exceptions, they are very ignorant, and possess a very easy mora-



lity. With the poor pay allowed them, we cannot reasonably calculate upon a better state of things. The men who take charge of our public schools, and accept so miserable a pittance as the reward of their labors, are they who cannot get employment on any other terms. Necessity forces them to make the offer of their services, and necessity forces the Commissioners to accept them. It is now in South Carolina a reproach to be a Teacher of a free school, as it is regarded *prima facie* evidence of a want of qualification. Men will not embark in the business of education, from mere motives of patriotism. You cannot command superior talent and attainment, without adequate compensation. The Lawyer, the Physician, and the Artisan, bestow not their labors gratuitously; and upon what principle of reason or justice, can it be expected, that he who has qualified himself, by years of severe toil, for the most useful of all professions, shall labor at a rate which will not supply the wants of nature?

Notwithstanding the annual appropriation of thirty-seven thousand dollars, it is yet true, that public education does not receive from us the consideration to which it is entitled. Permit me to say, that it should be the prominent subject of your deliberations, until something is accomplished worthy of South Carolina. The fund which is set apart for this purpose, does not answer the end, for which it is intended. In many Districts, it is drawn, and not legitimately appropriated, and in many instances made the object of improper speculation. I trust that you will go on with the work which the last Legislature began, and not be deterred by the difficulties which attend it. In this matter, we should not count the cost. It is a fair occasion for experiment. If we are not prepared to substitute an entire new system, there is no reason why we should pertinaciously reject all modification. It has been recommended to you, to create an officer, with a competent salary, to be called the Superintendent of Public Schools. This officer might be elected for one year, and you will at least have the benefit of his labors for that period. Let him make the tour of the State, examine minutely the condition of the Schools in the several Districts, and report fully to the Legislature, on all matters relating to the subject, with such suggestions as he may deem proper. An amount of information will thus be obtained, which cannot be procured in any other way, and which will be of great service, in any future effort to mature a system. With a competent officer, some good would surely be done, and upon such a subject sound policy justifies the inconsiderable expenditure.

For the financial condition of the State, I refer you to the Reports of the Comptroller-General, and the President of the Bank of the State of South Carolina. In these Reports there is much matter worthy of your most grave consideration. For some years past the State has anticipated her income, and permitted her expenditures to exceed it. To cover the deficit, the funds of the Bank have been seized upon, and diverted temporarily from their legitimate employment, by which its operations are necessarily deranged, and its effective power weakened. The increased abstraction of its funds has given rise to well-founded alarm, in those who administer its affairs, as well as to the officer who is at the head of your finances. The Comptroller General has forcibly exhibited the dangerous tendency of these measures to cripple, and perhaps even to destroy, the usefulness of the Bank. The events of the last year are pregnant with warning, and the President and Directors have with proper earnestness and fidelity, called your attention to them. Amidst difficulties and embarrassments unexampled in its history, they have firmly



met the crisis of the past year, paid off \$800,000 of the debt of the State, and discharged with punctuality, every liability presented against the State, or the institution. But whether the other heavy debts of the State will be met with equal punctuality, and the Bank continue to discharge all the other functions assigned to it by the public, in its future administration, must depend, in no small degree, on your abstaining from the use of its funds. Of its perfect ability to perform all that has been assigned it, if not farther interfered with, there can be no doubt. Its condition is sound—its business wholesome and profitable; but these derangements of its operations may prove serious impediments to its success, and even, in the end, if continued, render it unable to fulfil those engagements for which the State has solemnly plighted her honor. Your attention is earnestly invoked to this subject, in the confident expectation that your wisdom will provide in time a remedy, and protect, in all its vigor, an institution that shares so largely in the confidence and favor of the State.

With the view of giving you as much information as possible, in relation to our Banking institutions, I addressed a circular to the respective officers, and have the honor to transmit their Reports, as an accompanying document of this Message. I believe I hazard nothing, when I say, that they exhibit a comparatively sound condition, and that the Banks of no State in the Union are entitled to higher confidence. The whole country has suffered from the abuses of the Banking system, and it is not to be disguised, that in South Carolina too, this tremendous power has been directed to ends not legitimate. It is not my purpose to wage war upon the Banks, but against their abuses. I would not destroy, but regulate them. Incorporated, as they are, into our political institutions, and forming a most material part of them, I regard their annihilation, not as a blessing, but the certain presage of widespread ruin. But Banks, in the presumed plenitude of their power, should not be permitted to do as they please. Their chartered privileges give them no right to violate sacred obligations, and perpetrate outrageous injustice. They have no independent corporate existence, apart from those conditions, implied as well as expressed, which gave them being. In the nature of things, a Bank can have no exclusive right to sport with the demands of common justice, and it is a monstrous perversion to say, that the Legislature ever intended to confer this extraordinary privilege. I would not violate the sanctity of chartered rights, but I cannot sanction that doctrine which places Banks entirely beyond the reach of the Legislature. The recent suspension of specie payments, by most of the Banks of our State, calls for some decisive action. The legal remedy which the bill holder has, amounts to nothing. In modern times, the refusal to redeem a note, is a common Bank operation, and he must be endowed with more than ordinary firmness, who will make the demand, as he is sure to encounter the insulting, contumacious spirit of a chartered gentleman. It is your province to provide against these disgraceful Bank suspensions, and your wisdom will suggest the measures best adapted to the exigency.

I herewith transmit the Report of the Adjutant and Inspector General, and I cannot recommend too strongly to your attention, our military system. A very slight reflection only is necessary to show, that this arm of our defence has never been too highly appreciated. That people is unworthy of liberty, who is unwilling to defend it. It is one of your highest and most sacred duties, to maintain an efficient militia organization, as in the rapid current of events, no one can tell how soon we may be called upon, to exert



our whole power in defence of our altars and firesides. The system of Brigade Encampments, which was instituted a few years ago, with the view of improving our Militia, has worked well, and it is the unanimous testimony of every general officer, and of a vast majority of the field and company officers, that sound policy demands its continuance. It would be better, I think, to relieve every man of duty, than abolish this feature—to take our stand at once against the whole system, than indulge in empty pretensions, and ridiculous mockery. If we are to have a Militia, let it be as efficient as possible. No surer plan to effect this desirable result can be imagined, than to create a body of skilful and intelligent officers, who are ever ready to lead our whole militia force into the field, and who, in a short time, can prepare it to meet successfully any enemy which might be brought against it. To obviate a leading objection to the system, the Board of Commissioners, appointed to make a Digest of the Militia and Patrol Laws, recommended, that a moderate compensation should be paid to those who perform the duties of the camp. The Board, upon an accurate estimate, fixes the amount necessary for this purpose, at a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars per annum, and this sum might be further reduced, by limiting the compensation to such officers as are compelled to serve by appointment.

The entire services of the Adjutant and Inspector General are devoted to the duties of his department. To maintain our Encampment System, or to give efficiency, in any way, to our Militia organization, such an officer is indispensable. The State now enjoys the services of a gentleman, who is alike distinguished for military talent, and the promptitude and fidelity with which he discharges his duty. According to the testimony of all who have the best opportunity of forming a correct opinion, his salary is inadequate; and I respectfully recommend an increase to three thousand dollars. Impressed as I am, with the value of our Encampment System, I trust that the Legislature will give it a full and fair trial. Already it is becoming popular in the adjoining States, and some of them are following our example.

Recent events suggest to me the propriety of calling your attention to a law of South Carolina, authorizing the sale of the services of white men, under certain circumstances. It is opposed to the enlightened spirit of the age, especially to the genius of our Southern Institutions, and I earnestly suggest its repeal.

A law of the last Legislature, regulating the Election of District Officers, is found to operate a serious public inconvenience, in one particular. This is in the mode of granting commissions. Under the former, immemorial practice of the Government, the return of Managers of Elections was forwarded to the office of Secretary of State, the person elect filed his bond with the Treasurer, and the Secretary gave the commission. This mode was simple, direct, convenient, and never produced mischief. According to the construction of Governor NOBLE, in which, I understand he was sustained by the Attorney General, the present law requires that the return of Election should be made personally to the Governor, and the commission issue immediately from him. His practice was in conformity to this opinion, and as the Governor of South Carolina has no fixed residence, but a sort of travelling Head Quarters, men have been compelled to ride some weeks in pursuit of him before they could get their commissions.

It has been repeatedly recommended to you, to require the Governor to reside at the seat of Government. Sustained as this measure is by the most obvious considerations of public policy, it is really strange that it has been



so long overlooked. To say nothing of the almost inconceivable inconvenience to which persons, having business with the Executive, are subjected, the most substantial reason for the enactment of such a law is to be found in the fact, that the administration of public justice is habitually retarded, and not unfrequently prevented.

I have the satisfaction to inform you that a Treaty has been concluded with the Catawba tribe of Indians, by the Commissioners appointed for that purpose, and I herewith transmit the proceedings.

South Carolina cannot be an indifferent spectator of the great political struggle which is going on in our country. Never, I believe, since the organization of our government, has there been a struggle of more fearful importance. For many years, she has forbore from taking part in the election for President of the United States, because she could not have done so without compromising her principles. Her political position was peculiar, and it was right and proper, that she should not aid in putting into power, men who were only known as enemies of her best interests. At the late Presidential election, she refused to vote for either of the prominent candidates, preferring to hold herself uncommitted, and judge the Administration by its measures. Mr. VAN BUREN was elected, and it is not to be disguised, that she indulged toward him, feelings of strong opposition. It is not necessary here to review particularly the causes which separated her from his party. It is enough to say, that Gen. JACKSON forfeited her support, by his practical abandonment of the conservative doctrine of State sovereignty, and that Mr. VAN BUREN, it was believed, would tread in his footsteps. But the maxim of our State, is "principles, not men." She has carefully watched the Administration, and found it essentially Republican. Whatever may have been the grounds of former objection to Mr. VAN BUREN, they are substantially removed. The party which supports him, has committed itself to principles, which she cannot repudiate, and unfurled that flag, under which, if true to herself, she cannot fail to rally. The struggle which is going on between the contending parties, is essentially a struggle between Republicanism and Federalism. If we look at the elements of the self-styled Whig party, we find peculiar cause for apprehension. That sagacious statesman, Mr. JEFFERSON, predicted that the Federalists would change their name, and, under false pretences, again attempt to get into power. It is even so now, and a party, exhibiting every hue and shade of opinion, has arrogated to itself a name, consecrated by the most glorious associations, only, it is to be feared, for the purposes of imposture and delusion. While, as a body, it has made no exposition of its principles, its prominent members, in different parts of the country, have professed every thing. The Convention which nominated General HARRISON, was composed of men of every possible political complexion. The very attempt to declare its faith, would have been fatal to the party. What then was done? The most studious concealment was agreed upon, and the members of the party generally, were permitted to make whatever pledges they thought adapted to the respective latitudes in which they lived. The most has been made of this gracious privilege; and I hesitate not to say, that in the whole round of political questions, there is not one to which the Harrison party is not solemnly pledged, by some of its prominent leaders. Who will unravel the intricate web of modern Whiggery? It is one thing in Vermont, and another thing in Georgia. It is Tariff and Anti-Tariff, Bank and Anti-Bank, Abolition and Anti-Abolition; "all things to all men." At the North, it is Federalism, in its highest estate: at the South, it is State Rights. It is cer-



tainly something singular, in the history of this country, that a Convention should assemble for the important purpose of making a President, and refuse to declare its principles. Can South Carolina give her aid and sympathies to a party whose designs are thus hidden and mysterious? Is she prepared to battle for, she knows not what? To forget her own principles, and join in the wild and maddening cry of revolution?

But the present administration is most solemnly pledged to those principles, which we hold as dear and sacred. We have not only the pledge of Mr. VAN BUREN, but, what is better, the unanimous pledge of the party which sustains him. The Convention, which nominated him for re-election, took its position boldly, and without disguise. Pledged as it is to the doctrine of strict construction, and the unqualified support of the peculiar institutions of the South, we find in it nothing to condemn, but much to approve. The political faith of that body, is the faith of the party throughout the country. There is no evasion, no subterfuge. The principles of JEFFERSON constitute the basis of its union. It is not for us to speculate upon the consistency of Mr. VAN BUREN, or the motives which placed him and his party in their present position. The contest is for principle, and we can be true to ourselves, only by giving him our countenance and support.

There can be no good reason why South Carolina should preserve an attitude of neutrality; but, opposed as she is, to the motley combination which forms the Whig party, it becomes her to vote against its monstrous pretensions. When we contemplate the deep delusion of so many thousands of the Southern people, we want words to express our astonishment. That so large a portion should have been enticed from their proper allegiance, and drawn into the support of a party which has no affiliation with them, against an administration which, at a period of peculiar peril, has pledged its whole power to the support of our rights and interests, is a political phenomenon, which is rarely exhibited. But while we regret this division, we fondly hope that the day is not far distant, when the South will be united to a man, on the ground now occupied by our State. Threatening as may be the signs of the times, we will not despair of the Republic. There must be sufficient virtue and intelligence in the people, to awaken them, sooner or later, from the delusion under which they labor. When General HARRISON comes into power, a brief period, I think, will develop the character of his administration, and vindicate fully the course of South Carolina.

In contemplating the present condition of things, nothing alarms me so much for the stability of our political institutions, as the growing corruption in our elections. The monstrous frauds which have been developed in many parts of our country, must awaken in the bosom of the patriot, emotions of the most painful character. Our only security rests in the purity of the elective franchise. If men are to be sold in the market like cattle, soon our country will not be the nursery of freemen, but the miserable abode of degraded slaves. From the peculiar nature of our political organization, purity in elections is indispensable. The sovereign power resides in the people, and if they become unfit for the purposes of government, all is lost. I am sorry to believe that, throughout our country, the spirit of party has, to a great extent, taken the place of patriotism. Love of country is merged in party devotion; and under this fell influence, principle is forgotten, the Constitution vilified, the rights of States invaded, and the public morals trodden under foot. It becomes us, fellow-citizens, as the people of one of the sovereign States of this Confederacy, to guard against this most destructive influ-



ence, and do our duty to our common country. I feel assured that the present Presidential canvass, has been marked by deeper and more widespread corruption, than any former event in our history; and that, if the pure and virtuous of the land do not soon come to the rescue, we will, ere long, be involved in all the perils of a bloody revolution.

Would I could believe that this was but a picture of fancy, and not the sober dictate of reason. Though it be true that South Carolina has not reached that depth of corruption, which we find in the more crowded communities of other sections, she cannot claim exemption. There is too often an impurity in our elections, which is discreditable to a virtuous and enlightened people. Too often we see ignorance triumph over wisdom, vice over virtue. It is not to be disguised, that here, hundreds sell their votes for money and for whiskey, and that, in many instances, he whose virtue and independence preserve him from the common demoralizing practices of candidates, is hunted down and sacrificed as a victim. The practice of betting on elections, is a most prolific source of corruption. The most important of all the privileges of a freeman, is converted into an occasion for ministering to avarice and cupidity, and arousing the worst passions of our nature. It is a melancholy fact, that from the pettiest District Election, to the Presidency of the United States, multitudes are controlled in their votes, by the pecuniary interest which they have at stake, and the highest qualifications, and most brilliant services, are thus entirely disregarded. That man is blind indeed, who, upon reflection, does not perceive the enormity of the evil, and that we must fall beneath the ponderous mass of corruption, which is rapidly accumulating, unless it is soon counteracted. I call upon every man in South Carolina, to exert his best efforts in preserving the purity of the elective franchise; to take his stand against that spirit of licentiousness, which, in the name of freedom, is diffusing far and wide its destructive influences. I trust that the people of our beloved State, will give to this subject their calmest consideration; that an enlightened public opinion will purify the ballot box, and that the day is not far distant, when he who would offer a bribe to a freeman, shall be branded with ignominy and disgrace. If our common Government is destined to fall, let us, to the last, acquit ourselves like men amid the general degeneracy, and prove that we are worthy of true and rational liberty.

It becomes my duty to transmit to you a copy of the Preamble and Resolutions of the State of Connecticut, in favor of the Protective policy, which were forwarded to me with the request that they be laid before you. The Compromise, as it is called, will expire in 1842. In that Act, is the stipulation, that the revenue, from this source, shall be reduced to the limits of an economical expenditure of the Government. The solemn pledge is thus given, that no more duties shall be imposed, than are necessary to defray our expenses; and according to our understanding of the bargain, the principle of protection, as a distinct, substantive power, is abandoned. I must confess that I am not so much surprised, as pained, at this demonstration, on the part of one of the Sovereign States of this Confederacy, to fix again, if possible, this odious system upon us. To this violation of the Constitution, this act of wanton, deliberate injustice, aggravated by the recollection of our former arduous struggles against it, South Carolina will never consent. When that day arrives, if it should arrive, I trust we will be found contending against the common enemy with all the means which God and nature have placed in our hands. May Heaven spare us a renewal of those scenes of agitation which lately shook the Union to its centre, and avert that necessity, which



would force a Sovereign State to seek common justice, and vindicate her plainest rights, by the strength of her own arm.

In conclusion, let me again invoke the blessings of Almighty God upon your deliberations, and humbly hope that he may guide you to those results which will most conduce to the peace, honour, and happiness of South Carolina.

B. K. HENAGAN.



